

# FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN



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## ***Democratic Trends Sought In German Scene***

BERLIN—In the political field the question most often asked and least often answered with any precision is: what prospect can we see for democracy in Germany? Here, in the shattered capital of would-be empire-builders, Bismarck, Wilhelm II and Hitler, where the once arrogant statues of the Siegesallee stare disconsolately at the dreary wastes of the Tiergarten whose beautiful trees have been cut down for fuel, the answer seems relatively simple. The Berliners of the capital's Western sectors, glancing beyond the Brandenburger Tor which separates them from the Russian sector, are convinced that they want neither Russian nor German Communist rule; and they have unequivocally cast their lot with the Western powers.

### ***Berliners in Western Camp***

Whether this was done from genuine devotion to democracy, or for considerations of security, it would be more difficult to say; but whatever the motives, the Berliners at present are regarded by Military Government as the staunchest opponents of Russia and communism. The round-the-clock drone of airlift planes, landing every four minutes with loads of food, coal and a few raw materials for West Berlin's factories, has become an integral feature of Berlin life. The "air-bridge" as the Germans call it, or "Operation Vittles," to use the more picturesque American phrase, is a miracle of efficiency and precision. But people get used to everything, even miracles, and it is significant that Berlin spokesmen now say the airlift must be expanded—to bring in more goods. General Clay plans to take

advantage of the good weather that has now set in to accumulate a stockpile of coal for next winter, since no one can take the risk of gambling on another mild winter like this year's, which proved an incalculable boon to the airlift. A generating plant is being reconstructed in West Berlin to provide much needed electric power for the revival of local industries, notably the production of electrical equipment required by plants in Western Germany.

The farther one travels westward from Berlin, the more difficult it becomes to say with any assurance whether or not the Germans are moving toward democracy. There have been deadlocks both at Bonn, where the constitutional convention is attempting to draft an organic law in keeping with the wishes of the Western occupying powers, and among the occupying powers themselves. The United States, Britain and France eventually reached agreement in Washington on April 8 on tripartite control machinery and on a simplified occupation statute defining the powers to be retained by the occupation authorities upon the establishment of a German federal republic.

The agreement provides for a civilian Allied High Commission, on which each of the three occupying powers will have a veto on matters of security, to take over supervisory functions from the Military Governors. The occupation statute expresses the desire of the three powers to extend self-government to the German people "to the maximum possible degree" consistent with the occupation. It reserves for the high commission such matters as controls for the Ruhr, disarmament and

demilitarization, civil aviation, reparations, foreign affairs, and foreign trade and exchange. It has been met with German criticism, particularly from the Social Democrats, who have charged that the continuance of control over foreign trade is dictated by Western fears of German competition. However, the agreement overcomes one important obstacle to the creation of a German government and paves the way for future negotiations between the occupied and the occupiers on the constitution.

### ***Have the Germans Changed?***

The actual text of the Bonn constitution will in any case be less important than the spirit in which the Germans will administer their own institutions. It would be unrealistic to expect that a people ruined and demoralized by war, however great its responsibility for its present plight, could abandon overnight ways of life developed out of a long historic tradition; and even more unrealistic to hope that such change could be brought about by foreign occupation personnel representing very different ideologies and systems. The late Count Folke Bernadotte, a great humanitarian, in his posthumously published book, *Instead of Arms*, wrote pessimistically in 1947: "The German has not changed as a result of the second World War, of its consequences or of what it unmasked. He repudiates the old Nazi party. This does not mean that he repudiates Nazism in the broadest sense."

While not every non-German observer would go as far as Count Bernadotte, the predominant tendency here, both among Germans and foreigners, is to be very

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cautious in predicting future political trends. For one thing, little as yet is known of three potentially highly influential groups—the youth, the women, and the expellees. Those young people who had already been subjected to Nazi doctrines are now intellectually confused and morally weary. They emphatically do not want to have to exert themselves in strenuous political strife. Women for the most part still accept the traditional German pattern of masculine authority dispensed by husband or father. The old established parties—the Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats—have so far made little effort to win adherents among the youth or among women; it is the Communists, and the newly developing nationalist groups, which are most active in trying to capture these as yet politically uncommitted groups of the population. The expellees (Germans expelled from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and areas of Germany taken over by Poland) are now estimated at between eleven and twelve million. They, too, have been neglected by the established political parties—to such an extent that Military Government is considering the possibility of licensing a new party to represent the expellees. But since the one common denominator of the expellees is a consuming desire to return to their homes, there would be real danger that such a party would become a new irredentist movement. Some Americans believe that the best hope for the future is to be found among children who never experienced nazism; and American army

units have undertaken to give youngsters opportunities for team play and comradeship through many German Youth Centers established in the United States zone. But even those who are most enthusiastic about this youth program wonder to what extent democratic practices acquired in youth centers may be counteracted at home by the complaining and self-pity of parents who continue to wield far greater influence over children than is true in the United States. And under the best of circumstances the contribution of today's children to democracy in Germany lies some years in the future.

### ***Unions Offer Hope***

Of the social groups now holding the center of the stage, most of the industrialists were so compromised by their personal relations with the Nazis and their financial contributions to Hitler's cause that, even though formally denazified, they are not regarded by their fellow citizens as genuine supporters of democracy. To this must be added the highly unfavorable impression produced on both Germans and foreigners by the profligate spending of the wealthy in the wake of the currency reform, with little or no regard for the welfare of the German people as a whole.

The group which holds out the greatest hope for the future here—the trade unions—happens to be the group which has least appeal for those in Military Government who, reflecting current views in the United States, oppose socialism and

socialization and would like to see free private enterprise thrive untrammelled in Germany. The trade unions represent a cross section of political views. Of the movement's membership between 40 and 50 per cent are Social Democrats, about 20 per cent Christian Democrats, and less than 10 per cent Communists. Many trade union leaders spent years in concentration camps, or went into exile, under nazism. Today they are energetically weeding out Communist agitators from their own ranks. They have also suffered most from the Berlin blockade when hundreds of their members chose to lose their jobs in the Russian sector by moving to the Western sectors. The trade unions have demonstrated, in practice, therefore, their determination to withstand both nazism and communism. They cannot understand—nor can American labor representatives here—why Washington continues to shy away from genuine co-operation with the trade unions in the democratization of Germany. To the American argument that German workers may prove as nationalist as other Germans, they say that the risk is worth taking and that, if Americans trust no Germans, then it would have been better to blow up all of Germany in 1945. The attitude of the United States toward the German trade unions transcends political considerations, for it raises a series of questions about the future economic organization of Germany.

VERA MICHELES DEAN

*(The second of three articles on current trends in Germany.)*

## ***Rhodes Agreements Bringing Peace To Middle East***

An over-all peace for the Middle East, with some promise of stability and endurance, has been in the making since January. Israel, its elections held, its provisional constitution accepted and its recognition by the rest of the world won, has negotiated a series of important general armistice agreements with its Arab opponents under the skillful guidance of the UN acting Mediator, Dr. Ralph Bunche. All the significant problems of the long-standing Palestine dispute, however, have not yet been resolved, and major tasks confront the UN Conciliation Commission, composed of American, Turkish and French representatives appointed under the terms of the General Assembly resolution of last December 11. In addition, the impact of the broad settlement on the Arab states is yet to be determined.

The first and possibly the most difficult step in bringing peace to the region was the completion of the Israeli-Egyptian agreement of February 24 at Rhodes, after six weeks of negotiations. Egypt was induced to lead the Arab parade because its military position was untenable (with a brigade trapped by Israeli forces at Faluja), because of unrest at home and because the Egyptians were convinced that Transjordan had already stopped fighting. Hard work and patience on the part of Dr. Bunche and reported pressure on the two parties by the United States and Britain brought the negotiations to a conclusion. The agreement provided for the release of the Faluja garrison and left Egypt in control of the Rafah-Gaza coastal strip about twenty-five miles long and four miles wide along the Mediterranean. El Auja, a border town on a key high-

way between Palestine and Egypt, contested because both sides thought it might be used as a base for an attack on the other, was neutralized. Beersheba, communications center for the Israeli-held Negeb, was not included in the agreement and was therefore, in effect, left in Israeli hands. Both sides agreed to reduce their military forces along the demarcation lines. Israeli leaders considered the settlement a victory, and the Egyptian Premier, Ibrahim Abdul Hadi, saved face with his countrymen, from whom the extent of Egyptian military defeats had been veiled by censorship, by arguing that it was a purely military agreement negotiated in accordance with the Security Council resolution of November 16. Lebanese leaders took a similar line in explaining their agreement with Israel, signed at Ras en Naqura on March 23.

This provided for a demarcation line following the international Palestine border and a limitation of troops on both sides.

### **Transjordan Armistice**

The armistice with Transjordan, signed at Rhodes on April 3, contained several interesting points. It was disclosed that the government of Iraq on March 20 granted Transjordan the power to negotiate on its behalf and agreed to the replacement of Iraqi troops in Palestine by King Abdullah's Arab Legion. This relieved Iraq of a serious embarrassment, since it was reputed to be in such bad financial straits that it was unable to pay its soldiers. It was also regarded with favor by some Israeli leaders who consider the Legion the most amenable of the Arab forces arrayed against them. Moreover, it gave Abdullah a bigger wedge in the Arab portion of Palestine which he hopes to annex. His nation was identified in the agreement as "the Hashemite Jordan Kingdom," a further hint that he hopes his realm will extend to the west as well as the east side of the River Jordan.

The armistice lines generally followed those of the truce, giving Abdullah control over the important Jenin-Tulkarm-Nablus triangle where the Arab salient extends to within a dozen miles of the Mediterranean between Tel Aviv and Haifa. Modifications in this sector in favor of Israel were balanced by concessions to Transjordan in the Dead Sea area. Agreement in principle was reached on a number of points regarding Jerusalem—where the Legion occupies the Old City and Israelis the New. These, including access to holy places, communications and supply of water and electricity, are to be taken up by a committee composed of two members for each side. The agreement also called for a reduction of forces on both sides of the demarcation lines but a special provision was made for the Israeli

garrison along the Elath strip, bordering the Red Sea and adjacent to Aqaba where a British garrison is stationed.

Of the Arab states which have been actively engaged in the Palestine war, only Syria has yet to reach an agreement. Talks between Israel and the Damascus government were delayed first by a military coup in Syria and then by Israeli occupation of a new position inside Syrian territory.

### **Arab Reactions**

The Syrian coup is perhaps symptomatic of the changes being wrought in the Middle East by the Palestine settlement. Some observers have seen in each cabinet change the threat of an ultranationalist movement fed by local discontent arising from the failure of Arab leaders to win a quick and easy victory last summer. Although this discontent has played a part in the politics of Egypt, Syria and Iraq, it has not yet precipitated the violent changes or intense reactions so often predicted. The Syrian military coup on March 30 followed a cabinet reshuffle last December when the fall of Premier Jamil Mardam Bey was attributed to internal corruption and rising living costs rather than Palestine defeats. President Shukri el Kuwatly replaced Mardam Bey, with some difficulty, by a cabinet of technicians led by Khaled el Azam. This regime, seeking to bolster Syria's economy, announced that it would agree to the completion of the Trans-Arabian Pipeline (TAPline) from the American concession in Saudi Arabia to an outlet on the Lebanese coast.

The military coup, led by Brigadier Husni Zayim, 50-year-old professional soldier and chief of staff of the Syrian army, was carried out with the arrest and forced resignation of both Azam and Kuwatly and the dissolution of the Syrian Parliament. But although initial rumors branded this revolt an ultra-

nationalist movement which would turn against the West, Zayim also announced that he too favored the TAPline project and that he was only dissolving parliament so that a new constitution and a new electoral law could be drafted and new elections held. Again the motive appeared to be internal, accenting a trend toward moderate reform.

One of the more interesting speculations arising from the Zayim coup was the charge that it was encouraged by Abdullah as a step toward his dream of "Greater Syria," a union between Transjordan, Syria and Iraq. It is significant that after the coup Abdullah was quoted as stating that the Palestine situation might force such a union. Zayim also expressed a relatively vague wish for a closer military, political and economic alliance among these states, possibly in the form of a confederation. In Iraq—a Hashemite kingdom like Transjordan—Abdullah has an even firmer ally in Premier Nuri es Said, a personal friend, an exponent of the Greater Syria plan and Premier since January. The moment may be propitious for some sort of inner league of the Arab League. Both Egypt and Saudi Arabia—which in the past have been jealous of Abdullah's ambitions—have lost interest in Palestine since Israel has established itself.

There are, however, a number of major issues to be resolved before final settlement comes to the Middle East, and these will continue to cloud Arab relations, the future of Israel, and the stability which the United States and Britain desire for the region. The UN Conciliation Commission has only begun what promises to be a lengthy task: (1) of finding solutions for the problem of the Arab refugees, numbering between 500,000 and 800,000; (2) of determining whether Israel is to get Western Galilee as well as the Negeb; and (3) of deciding whether Jerusalem is to have international supervision.

WILLIAM W. WADE

## **FPA Bookshelf**

*Learning and World Peace, Eighth Symposium*, edited by Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein and R. M. MacIver. New York, Harper, 1948. \$6.50

Papers by some sixty intellectual leaders, prepared for the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, held at the American Philosophical Society in September 1947, cover a wide range of topics relating to contemporary world problems. Of particular interest are contributions by such writers as Louis Wirth, Quincy Wright, Pitirim A. Sorokin, Elmo Roper, F. Ernest Johnson, Thomas K. Finletter and Harlow Shapley.

*The White Man's Peace*, by No-Yong Park. Boston, Meador, 1948. \$3.00

International anarchy, rather than imperialism, nationalism, militarism, or other specific evils, is considered the chief cause of war by Dr. Park who views world history as one familiar with both the Orient and the Occident. His most valuable contribution emerges in his final section on the making of peace in Asia, in which he points out that no solution is possible until differences between the Soviet Union and the United States are channeled through world organization, evolving from the UN.

*The German Opposition to Hitler*, by Hans Rothfels. Hinsdale, Illinois, Henry Regnery, 1948. \$2.50

In this carefully documented study a professor of modern history at the University of Chicago gives an appraisal of anti-Nazi activity in Germany. He finds that the leaders of the underground opposition, drawn from various sources and operating against fantastic difficulties, were struggling not merely to overthrow a specific tyranny but also to liberate man from the economic laws which he had made absolute, "to overcome spiritually the nineteenth century."



*The Law of the Soviet State*, by Andrei Y. Vyshinsky. New York, Macmillan, 1948. \$15.00

This volume, one of the series of works translated under the Russian translation project of the American Council of Learned Societies, is of interest not only to legal experts, but to all those who want to gain an insight into the concepts and structure of Soviet society as reflected in Soviet law. In a useful introduction Professor John N. Hazard of the Russian Institute of Columbia points out that Vyshinsky, recently best known in the West for his activities as Soviet Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, is by training a jurist, and before the war, when he was Prosecutor of the U.S.S.R., took a leading part in developing Soviet jurisprudence.

*Russia Astride the Balkans*, by Robert Bishop and E. S. Crayfield. New York, McBride, 1948. \$3.50

The Soviet policy in gaining control of Rumania is vividly recorded by the two authors who risked their lives to travel through that country during and following the war. Russian developments, in their opinion, offer a pattern of Soviet control in other Balkan countries.

*Sweden: Champion of the Peace*, by David Hinshaw. New York, Putnam, 1949. \$4.00

Sweden's contribution to peace by living a peaceful life is traced by Mr. Hinshaw from the Middle Ages to the present time.

*The President: Office and Powers*, by Edward S. Corwin. New York, New York University Press, 1948. \$6.75

Dr. Corwin's revision of the first edition of this valuable volume published in 1940 contains much new material on the changes in Presidential power in the past decade.

*Trial and Error*, by Chaim Weizmann. New York, Harper, 1949. \$5.00

The first President of Israel records his long and often heartbreaking struggle to achieve the goal he has had the rare satisfaction to see won in his lifetime. No one interested in human relations will want to miss the story of one of the great men of our times, from his childhood in Tsarist Russia's Jewish "pale" to his triumph in the creation of the State of Israel.

*Way of a Fighter, The Memoirs of Claire Lee Chennault*. New York, Putnam, 1949. \$4.50

The hero of the "Flying Tigers" here combines an account of his achievements during the war against Japan with a vitriolic attack on his various enemies, especially General Joe Stilwell, and an impassioned plea for aid to the Nationalist government against the Communists.

*Prospects for Democracy in Japan*, by T. A. Bisson. New York, Macmillan, 1949. \$2.75

This volume, one of a series of studies on post-war Japan being published under the auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, is by the author of *Japan's War Economy* who has served as a member of the Government Section of General MacArthur's headquarters. Mr. Bisson focuses attention on the difficulties encountered in training Japan for democracy. While stressing the resistance of old ruling groups to the loss of their former power, he also points out the effects of changing objectives in occupation policy.

## News in the Making

Differences emerged between the Western powers over the disposition of the Italian colonies as the UN General Assembly's Political Committee commenced discussion of the issue with the presentation on April 6 of the American view that Britain should have a trusteeship over Cyrenaica, Italy should become trustee for Somaliland, and Ethiopia should obtain eastern Eritrea. Britain supported this proposal, but France took issue, suggesting that, save for a portion of Eritrea to be given to Ethiopia, all former Italian colonies should be placed under UN trusteeship with Italian administration. In Italy the Communist press is accusing Foreign Minister Carlo Sforza of discarding the support of Russia, the only country fully backing Italian aspirations. . . . The many sided civil war in Burma appeared no nearer solution when revolting Karen tribesmen under the leadership of Saw Ba U Gyi, president of the Karen National Union, failed to surrender on April 8 as arranged in an agreement announced two days before. As a result the government at Rangoon reopened hostilities against the rebel stronghold of Insein and scattered fighting continues throughout the fertile valley of the Irrawaddy. . . . Against a background of unsatisfactory world trade conditions, the twenty-three signatories of the ITO's *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade* met in Annecy, France, on April 11 for a second round of tariff negotiations with eleven countries, not signers of the original agreement effected in Geneva in 1947. One of the most important sets of negotiations will concern the United States and Italy, which wants to step up its sales of olive oil and other foodstuffs to this country in exchange for manufactures. The most controversial item on the agenda is expected to be Czechoslovakia's charge that the United States discriminates against the Eastern European countries in its export policy. . . . Intensified political campaigning by Britain's Labor party came in the wake of serious losses in county elections throughout England and Wales. Party leaders were shocked when

## Branch & Affiliate Meetings

\*CLEVELAND, April 19, *Korea—The Far Eastern Berlin?*, Leonard Bertsch

\*NEW YORK, April 19, *Report from Europe*, Vera M. Dean

\*PHILADELPHIA, April 19, *Behind the Iron Curtain*, Lt. Gen. Walter Bedell Smith

\*BOSTON, April 20, *The North Atlantic Pact*, Bruce C. Hopper

\*PITTSBURGH, April 21, *Does Our Foreign Policy Make Sense?*, Edgar Ansel Mowrer

CINCINNATI, April 22, *North Atlantic Pact*, Brooks Emeny, William Verity, William Hessler

CINCINNATI, April 22-23, *Council of FPA Branches and Affiliates*

DETROIT, April 22, *Foreign Policy Round Up*, Robert Mills McClintock

\*Data taken from printed announcement

## Binder Gets UN Post

Carroll Binder, editorial editor of *The Minneapolis Tribune* and member of the National Board of Directors of the Foreign Policy Association, has been elected by the UN Commission on Human Rights to its subcommission on Freedom of Information and of the Press.

## ERP and American Economy

What is the solution for the dollar shortage? What are the economic problems of Western Europe and how can they be treated? How can the United States economic policy be used most effectively? For a discussion of these issues, READ

ERP: PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS  
by Seymour E. Harris

April 15 issue

*Foreign Policy Reports*—25 cents

Subscription \$5; to FPA members, \$4.

they lost decisive control of the London County Council, a Labor stronghold for fifteen years, in polling April 8, The reason given was Sir Stafford Cripps' "iron" budget, announced the day before, which offered no tax relief and threatened to boost the cost of living.

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